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may be found in the existence of a public opinion which is still sound. China is not Mexico and she will survive this paroxysm, but it will not be until her doctrinaires have become practical administrators and have routed the old mandarins who care nothing for national needs and problems.

FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS,
Yale University.

Empire and Commerce in Africa, a Study in Economic Imperialism.

BY LEONARD S. WOOLF. London, Allen and Unwin, 1920,
374 pp.

This book is a contribution to the literature of international relations of cardinal importance. It is much more than a penetrating analysis of concrete data; it is a broadly philosophical and historical critique of the whole imperialistic movement, and the theory of the omnipotent and transcendental State upon which it has rested. The first part of the work is an excellent introduction to the general subject of European imperialism, with special emphasis on the difficulties of the subject and the real motives and forces which have produced the movement. The treatment is historical, as well as analytical. The second and longest section of the book deals in more detail with selected phases of European imperialism in Africa. Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Abyssinia, Zanzibar and East Africa, and the Belgian Congo are chosen for analysis, though other areas are brought in by allusion and implication. This study is, thus, less inclusive as to areas than the works of J. S. Keltie, H. H. Johnston and N. D. Harris, but is much more penetrating and thorough in its discussion and criticism of general policies. The analysis includes historical, economic and diplomatic factors and also brings in the reaction of African imperialism upon party alignments and party history in the European countries.

The most important portion of the work to one interested in the cultural and historical significance of modern imperialism is the last which summarizes the effects of European imperialism in Africa. The whole basis of modern political imperialism in Africa has been the belief that the state should protect the economic interests of its citizens in foreign enterprise. All of these states have been dominated by the Hegelian theory of the state and by the concepts and practices of modern predatory civilization, with its bookkeeping economy and its overpowering desire for immediate pecuniary gain. They have been further controlled

by a belief that there is an inevitable conflict of interests between the participating powers. This has led to aggressive policies and diplomatic clashes. It is certain that imperialism in Africa has not been a "paying venture" to the states concerned, and it is doubtful if even the gains to private interests have been at all comparable to the cost of their protection. In the following paragraph he summarizes his severe indictment of the "system" of modern imperialism in Africa:

In the last chapter I have attempted to trace the general effects of European policy in Africa. In my judgment those effects have been almost wholly evil. The European went into Africa about forty years ago desiring to exploit it and its inhabitants for his own economic advantage, and he rapidly acquired the belief that the power of his State should be used in Africa to promote his own economic interests. Once this belief was accepted, it destroyed the idea of individual moral responsibility. The State, enthroned in its impersonality and a glamour of patriotism, can always make a wilderness and call it peace, or make a conquest and call it civilization. The right of Europe to civilize became synonymous with the right of Europe to rob or to exploit the uncivilized. The power of each European State was applied ruthlessly in Africa. In bitter competition with one another, they partitioned territory which belonged to none of them. By fraud or by force the native chiefs and rulers were swindled or robbed of their dominions. Any resistance by the inhabitants to the encroachments either of individual Europeans or of European States was treated as "rebellion," and followed by massacres known as wars or punitive expeditions. In this process tribe was used against tribe and race against race, and wherever any native administration existed it was destroyed.

Mr. Woolf believes that little of promise can be hoped for from a continuation of the imperialistic policies of the past. There is nothing rational or constructive in this type of international relations. In the concluding chapter he sets forth important suggestions as to essential reforms in international politics in Africa and indicates what seem to him to be the only conditions under which the new mandatory system can operate successfully. All in all, it is a book with which all students should familiarize themselves and with which statesmen must reckon. Produced under the auspices of the British Labor Party, the work will probably have a political as well as an academic influence.

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